International News Extra

The Netherlands
DUTCH PAPER RAIDED IN NEW POLICE CONSPIRACY

Police in Groningen again raided the editorial offices of the Dutch anti-imperialist journal *De Knipselkrant* and the home of its principal editor Paul Moussalt, on 9th April.

The raid, requested under a Benelux treaty by Belgian investigating judge F. Cuykens, followed the arrest in Belgium on 8th April of two people said to be in possession of new communiques from the CCC (Fighting Communist Cells) in which, according to the Belgian press, a new guerrilla campaign was threatened unless four imprisoned members of the CCC—Pierre Carette, Didier Chevolet, Pascal Vandegeerde and Bertrand Sassoye—are set free.

The raids in Groningen (Holland) were conducted in the absence of Paul Moussalt, and other members of the editorial staff were not allowed to be present during the police searches. Police seized the journal's files of newspaper cuttings and communiques of CCC, Action Directe and correspondence concerning imprisoned comrades of CCC and the Paris newspaper *l'Internationale* (itself closed down by French police action), volumes of *De Knipselkrant* for 1986/7, all copies of a Red Resistance Front pamphlet Texts CCC, layout material, photo archives and a printing press.

On 15th April the court in Groningen decided to hand over material concerning the CCC to the Belgian police to support their continuing investigation. Judicial sources in Belgium claim that the two Dutch people arrested there on April 8th were operating a courier service to a branch of the CCC which they allege was reorganised in Holland following the arrests of Carette, Chevolet, Sassoye and Vandegeerde. Meanwhile the detention of the Dutch comrades lifted in Belgium has been extended for a month and the judicial investigation closed to their barrister. Paul Moussalt has been accused of *complicity in a possible guerrilla campaign of the CCC—which they deny as 'absurd'* and point to a long campaign of international police pressure as part of a strategy for silencing 'magazines and periodicals which support the politics and guerrilla and anti-imperialist resistance...'

As reported in *Black Flag* (issues 157, 162 and 165) Paul Moussalt has been a particular target for international police attention.

Dear Comrades

Australia has a federal political structure, and Queensland is one of the states which make up the Commonwealth—politically this state can be compared with the southern states of the USA—conservative, racist, dominated by the Nationalist Party and big business, also a tourist haven, epecially for Americans and Japanese.

The ACTU is a reformist trade union council, the only national trade union body, and is tied to the reactionary politics of the present federal government, the Australian Labour Party—this Labour Party has passed some of the most reactionry anti-union legislation for many years, and has imposed, via the ACTU, a nationl Accord on the Australian workers. This Accord effectively makes industrial action for higher wages illegal, tying unions to a six-monthly 'cost of living increase'.

Most unions have buckled under this Accord, and unions which have attempted to break with it have been fined by the courts, and attempts have been made to de-register them. With one union, the Builders Labourer's federation, these attempts have been successful.

Yours in international solidarity,
salud y anarquia,
Chris Smith for the ASF (Anarcho-syndicalist Federation

Queensland Industrial Affairs Minister, Vince Lester, will represent Australia at a world forum for trade unions.

In June he goes to Geneva for the Annual Conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), using tickets paid for by the federal government.

Lester has just pushed Australia's toughest anti-union legislation through the Queensland parliament.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and the National Liaison Committee of Coal Mining Unions are planning to fight the legislation by direct action and in the courts. Lester faces the prospect of an indefinite national strike by coal miners.

Source: Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation Melbourne, Australia

BIG BUSINESS TERRORISM

Politicians and the British media have carefully structured debate on 'political violence' and 'terrorism' to exclude discussion on the institutionalised use of violence for political ends. The systematic nature of the violence that underpins the power of the British ruling class and its foreign policy remains unchallenged. Yet the pattern of this violence is so clearly defined that it is no exaggeration to state that for each communist tortured in Chile, each freedom fighter killed in East Timor, for every woman and child butchered in El Salvador, a few more pence drop into the coffers of the Conservative Party.

Organisations like Amnesty International and the Campaign against the Arms Trade have consistently publicised the connections between arms exports and the use of torture and violence to crush political opposition in many countries. As one of the top four arms exporters, and the second largest exporter of 'internal security equipment', Britain plays a key role in sustaining a variety of Third World fascisms. Recently the British Army began training troops from El Salvador, a country with a notorious record of using death squads against its opponents. Britain has also supplied weapons and training to both sides in the Gulf War, including (in 1981) equipment to enhance Iraq's capability of manufacturing chemical weapons and engaging in chemical warfare.

Although torture is widely used against politicl detainees and human rights campaigners in Chile, and the murder of political opponents is commonplace—thousands of people have 'disappeared since the military junta overthrew the elected government in 1973—Britain is one of Chile's main major weapons suppliers. Chilean personnel are being trained by the British armed forces and missiles bombers and ground attack aircraft have all been supplied to the Chilean military since 1980.

Indonesia too

Britain has also become a major exporter of weapons to the military government on Indonesia. Radar, missiles, helicopters, advanced trainer/strike aircraft and frigates have already been supplied, while contracts for additional aircraft and a major training programme are currently under negotiation. Who are these 'allies' that the British Government is arming? What is the record of the regime that feted Margaret Thatcher in 1985?

The Indonesian military seized power in a bloody coup in 1965, systematically butchering all left-wing opponents during a three-year long massacre in which at least 500,000 were killed, on the military's own conservative estimate. Indeed. Amnesty International estimated 'many more than one million' killed. This bloodshed was accompanied by hundreds of thousands of arbitrary arrests, detentions and internal exile. Army death squads have operated in manay cities since 1983 in a so-called anti-crime campaign, resulting in over 4,000 deaths. In September 1984 troops opened fire on demonstrators in Jakarta's harbour district killing over sixty people and injuring hundreds more.

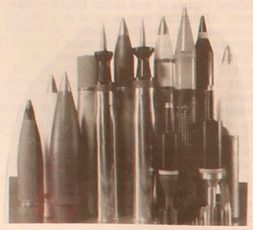
Torture remains widespread.

Indonesia is also engaged in two 'colonial' wars in West Papua, which was annexed in 1963, since when an estimated 100,000 Papuans have been killed, and in East Timor. East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 when the Portuguese empire, of which it was part, collapsed. 200.000 people (a third of the population) have died from aerial bombing, starvation and massacres as part of an attempt to subdue the resistance.

These are not aberrations. They are deliberate acts which form part of a wider, systematic British policy. Since 1984 personnel from countries with records of serious human rights violations including Chile, El Salvador, Indonesia, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Marcos's Philippines, have received training by members of the UK armed forces or in British military establishments.

British policy is to actively promote the sale of arms and 'internal security equipment' and in order to increase this lethal trade, the Government organises a biennial British Army Equipment Exhibition at Aldershot. Though the Ministry of Defence refuses to publish a list of countries invited, such lists were leaked to the press in 1980 and 1982. Of the 97 countries invited to the Exhibition in 1982, 43 were named in Amnesty International's report, Torture in the Eighties—including Syria, Chile, Zaire, Uganda, Indonesia, Iraq, Uruguay and Turkey.

The companies which supply armaments and repressive technology are not 'rogue' operators defying an otherwise benign system, they are an integral part of the system. They can, like Richard Unwin International, win the Queen's Award for Export Achievement, despite (or because of) the fact that it makes CS gas, CN gas and Battlefield Effects Simulators. Many of Britain's major companies manufacture arms and all of them are linked with 'respectable' banks and insurance companies. Should they worry if someone is murdered in a Chilean back street, or if whole villages are bombed to extinction in East Timor, so long as the profits remain large?



Who owns what?

In 1981, as part of a larger study of the British military industrial complex, I surveyed the directorships of the top nine privately owned arms manufacturers. 101 directors shared between them at least 579 directorships. Company share-ownership was fragmented, and control was exercised through what has been described as a 'constellation of interests' in which financial companies predominate. GEC, for example, was linked through directorships to the Bank of England, Sun Alliance, Lloyds Bank and Morgan Grenfell, while Plessey was connected to Commercial Union Assurance, Finance for Industry, Kleinwort Benson and National Westminster Unit Trust Manager Ltd. Control over the arms companies through this 'constellation' reduces competitiveness and reinforces a cohesiveness which originates from the oligopolistic structure of the industry. Arms companies are not directly competitive with each other but interdependent (one company makes missiles, another airframes and another communications equipment).

Since 1979 the armaments industry has increasingly underpinned British manufacturing as a whole. A recent report by the Labour Research Department noted that arms production, which amounted to 8.2% of all manufacturing output in 1979/80 has now grown to 13%. The Ministry of Defence now takes 50% of the output of the British aerospace industry, 40% of the shipbuilding output and 20% of the electronics industry output. These figures under-estimate the reliance of key industries on arms production, as they exclude arms exports, which on average accounts for about one-third of total UK arms production (and that figure is higher in areas of aerospace and electronics).

In addition to the connections with financial institutions, the arms companies also have direct political links with the Conservative Party. Jim Prior MP is chairman of GEC. Other Conservative armaments connections, past and present, include those of Lord Thorneycroft, John Nott, Geoffrey Howe, Basil de Ferranti MEP and Lord Carrington.

One of the less publicised connections was that of Eldon Griffiths MP who was a director of Redman Heenan Ltd in 1980 when that company escaped prosecution for smuggling £2 million worth of arms making equipment to South Africa, in return for payment of a secret £193,000 penalty. Griffiths quietly resigned in 1984 when the matter was revealed in *The Observer*.

The Conservative Party also receives large, regular sums directly from many arms companies. Figures compiled by the Labour Research Department show that during the year ended March 1986, the Conservatives received donations from the following companies with armaments interests: Tarmac (£25,000), George Wimpey (£115,000), Taylor Woodrow (£35,000). Babcock International (£10,000); Smiths Industries (£7,500), Westland (£2,000), Vinten (£500). Racal Electronics (£25.000), Guest Keen & Nettlefold (£10,000), Lucas Industries (£17,500, Northern Engineering Industries (£45,000).

As most, if not all, of these companies have received government contracts over the last few years, this blood money amounts to little more than old-fashioned corruption, and explains why, for example, the Minister of Trade took representatives of at least three arms companies with him when making a tour of South American dictatorships in 1982, and why Lord Carrington, when still Foreign Secretary, exerted himself over sales to Saudi Arabia. Government policy neatly dovetails with Conservative finances.

Thatcherism has supported, and is in turn supported by, British military industrial interests; the domestic consequences of this connection can be seen in the increasing domination of scientific research and development by military interests, increased military spending and influence with universities and polytechnics, and a further twist in the spiral of militarised policy.

Tory support for some of the world's most vicious states, and their financial dependence on the bloodstained sale of arms to those governments, is a scandal which is bigger and more institutionalised than Irangate. Labour silence on the issue is deafening, because its historical commitment to traditional concepts of economic growth, and jobs at any price, coupled with its acceptance of Establishment definitions of Britain's post-imperial role, have led it to modernise the structure of the arms industry and to set up the key Defence Sales Organisation when it was in power. Managing capitalism more effectively has meant the Labour Party modernised and restructured the arms companies and indirectly paved the way for Thatcher.

The military industrial complex forms the heart of the modern State, and as the London Stop the City demonstrations showed, the State will go to Draconian lengths to stop even the mildest of protests against its more obvious abuses.

Martyn Everett

MAGGIES MI5 TENDENCY

which the destabilisation campaign worked for is the dominant ideology of the government of the day, then it can be argued that the campaign was successful.

The government's declared aim is to retain power indefinitely. To achieve this they have the backing of the entire establishment - the Armed Forces, the Intelligence Services, the Media and organised Capital. The current leadership in power were selected by the establishment and their reactionary policies are only beginning to unfold. In total it amounts to nothing short of a Declaration of War on the working class and the dawning of a New Order.

The coup continues. But so does the resistance.

TOM INGLEWOOD.

SOURCES: *Lobster* (17c Pearson Avenue, Hull); *High Intensity Subversion* (Cienfuegos Press); *CIA & The Labour Movement* (Spokesman); *The Investigative Researchers Handbook* (Refract); etc.

Late News

On June 3, 1987, thirteen people are put on trial in Lamia, Greece facing serious charges- like the construction and use of explosives (molotov cocktails). The thirteen were arrested on May 13, 1986, during a demo against the use of nuclear power following the Chernobyl disaster.

Send letters and telegrams to:
-Mikto Orkoto Dikastirio Lamias, LAMIA, GREECE.

-Mr. Lefteris Veryvakis, Minister of Justice, Zinonos & Pireos st. ATHENS

Send copies of letters/telegrams to:
-B. Karaplis, 8 Aristidou St., 10559 ATHENS, GREECE.

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FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

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THE PRISON ECONOMY

INSIDE

Police Go Wild In Denmark!



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More Bully Fighting In Spain!



see pages 4 & 5

Riots Rock Berlin!



see page 3

In the last *Black Flag* we made a comparison between government policies that will increase the range by which we can either be imprisoned or placed under surveillance, and new measures that will, in effect, institutionalise slave-labour pay as part of the unfolding Workfare programme.

This comparison can now be taken to a further stage as it is now clear, with increasing government announcements, that the economy as a whole is being geared up for a total transformation - a transformation that will take place whichever political party assumes power. We have termed this new economy as the Prison Economy, for reasons which will be made clear.

SERVANT CLASS

Firstly, a look at the type of economy we have at the present.

Wealth has virtually completed its move from the manufacturing base and is now broadly centred around the Finance, Banking and Investment industries, where that wealth is generated and where the City especially has re-established itself as the financial exploiter of world trade. None of this wealth percolates downwards to the labouring classes in Britain or elsewhere, but is retained within a small circle, with international links, that uses the capital generated for further investment, etc.

At the same time a growth area has been witnessed in the so-called service industry sector. This has in turn resulted in an enormous increase in the number of lower paid and casually employed. With the unemployment situation the economy has shifted to force down wages and create a new 'servant class' - many of whom now know no, or have never known, unionisation or industrial action and who know no job security. The trade unions are unable to help them, because they choose not to, and so unionised or not they become isolated, accept their situation or look elsewhere for help.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Officially unemployment in Britain is around 3 million, although these are doctored figures and the true figure is probably closer to 4 million. However, add on the casual employed and working class housewokers and that figure increases to around five million.

At present the trend now is to cut down the official unemployment figures by forcing young people on to training schemes (in the future they will become compulsory, according to, say, the new Tory manifesto) that produce no guarantee of a real job. But that situation too is changing. Most people forced on to those schemes are to be faced with having them extended, with the idea of working without any real pay fastly becoming accepted amongst the young as the norm. Furthermore the training schemes have been extended to include adults, who are also being institutionalised into accepting slave-labour pay for work. The trouble is this is only the beginning of the programme.

The aim of the government is to develop the programme further and to consolidate the training schemes with the concept of 'work for dole'. The government intends to see to it that over the next five years, say, everyone who is unemployed is either placed on a training scheme (with institutionalised low pay) or works to get dole or social welfare payments. The end result would be to wipe out the official unemployment figures in their entirety. The government would be able to argue that everyone is employed in one form or another - and that they are helping the national economy to adjust in the changeover to creating 'real jobs'.

REAL JOBS

Just as the sort of work people are forced to do on training schemes is not real work, so the same goes for the sort of work people will be expected to do under Workfare. And the indications are that Workfare will be introduced on the backs of the various training schemes rather than introduced openly. It is also probable that if the Tories lose the Election, the other political parties, in power, will bring in Workfare also, but under a different name and with the co-operation of the unions.

But for how long will these unreal jobs remain unreal? Eventually the economy will adjust to the situation.

The longer term aim, therefore, is not only to institutionalise low pay for work, but to incorporate servant-labour type work, using the training schemes, as the norm for a growing underclass.

In other words, what are now considered to be unreal jobs will become an important part of the mainstream economy.

The irony, of course, is that 'full employment', once the catchphrase of the state socialists, will become the achieved policy of the right.

This new economy, under the Tories at least, will create new poverty levels and a philosophy that will embrace the abolition of public housing and a public health service and severe penalties for strike action.

Join the Job Training Scheme and you'll have no more money problems.



Because we won't give you any.

JOB TRAINING SCHEME — Helping you bridge the skills gap and not paying you

PAY-AS-YOU-ROT

But what has all this got to with prisons (apart from the fact that greater poverty leads to more crime and therefore more imprisonment)?

Well, allied to the policies mentioned above is the other stated policy for the privatisation of the prison service, with the hint that even the imprisoned, under the logic of privatisation and capitalism, will have to pay their own way.

Pay for your own imprisonment? Dispel all doubts: it's already taking place in the USA under the auspices of the very same private prison organisation that the British government has named as the organisation that will help pioneer prison privatisation in the UK.

That organisation is the Corrections Corp of America. As part of its programme it offers different grades of imprisonment to suit the offenders' means (means-related imprisonment?). 'Clients' can effectively choose the kind of imprisonment they want, ranging from basic down to positively unhealthy. Many clients are prepared to pay not only to avoid the disease and brutality of the more basic graded prisons, but also for the security provided by an extra premium. Many pay for their imprisonment by installments, others by loans; some sell their property to pay for better graded cells.

Continued on page 2

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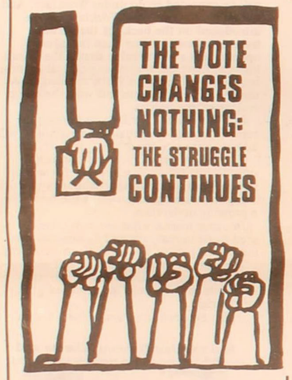
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For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation – against State control and all forms of government and economic oppression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all – the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers – and to fight for the life of one world.

Editorial



Anti-Fascist News

On 2 May 1987 at Newarke School, Imperial Avenue, Leicester, the racist and fascist British National Party held a meeting for the Council Elections. Past experience has shown that these events are merely excuses for nazi-style rallies that promote racial hatred. The protest that was organised clearly shows the anger felt by local people about this event. In all, over 300 people turned out to protest.

In line with their racist approach to these events, the police turned out in force to protect the pathetic band of about 30 BNP supporters, and limited the size of the meeting to stop local peole going inside the hall in large numbers. All the fascists were let in. Several arrests were made as police singled out hecklers for violent treatment. Other arrests were made outside the hall, including one person who was arrested for crossing the road to a shop.

Of the seven arrested, six face charges with the New Public Order Act, which states that you can be arrested for your language and gestures, unless of course, your language is that of race-hatred and your gestures are nazi salutes. The seventh defendant faces serious charges of assault against police officers. Leicester Anti-Fascist Action believes that fighting fascism is no crime. All defendants will plead NOT GUILTY to all charges. A Defence Fund has been set up to help the defendants and to raise the issues of racism and fascism in Leicester.

Support the Leicester Seven

Leicester AFA Defence Fund needs your support. Money is needed for the court cases, but the political issues are vital as well. Racism in the Labour Movement must be challenged. Racial attacks must be combatted, and fascism in Leicester must be stamped out.

Remember, the events at Newarke School will be repeated at the General Election, because the BNP is standing a candidate in Leicester East. **Leicester Anti-Fascist Defence Fund, c/o Leicester AFA, Trades Council Office, Leic. Unemployed Workers' Centre, 138 Charles Stret, Leicester (Tel: 0533 531595).**

HOME NEWS

Pickets Threatened With Public Order Act

Pickets in Manchester supporting the Ardbride dispute have been threatened by police under the Public Order Act. On May 1st pickets outside the Laura Ashley shop were told that they could be arrested if the picket caused 'alarm, distress or harassment' of management or shoppers.

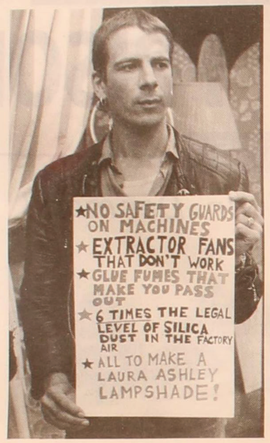
Asked what this could consist of the police replied that distress could be caused by placards being displayed, slogans shouted or people being asked not to go into the shop. Police said that the pickets were 'on dodgy ground' - whether the pickets caused 'distress' or not the management could say they did. The pickets were told that they were liable to arrest if the police returned due to complaints; the cops ended by remarking casually that the Public Order Act would be used to clamp down 'on this sort of thing' (ie picketing).

The other main news concerning the dispute is that the 21 women sacked by Ardbride have now left their union, the TGWU, because of its lack of support over the last eight months, but are continuing the fight. At the same time Laura Ashley management have been quick to tell pickets that 'the dispute is over', but this slimey tactic was unsuccessful and the picketing of the Laura Ashley shops continues.

As a result of the picketing Laura Ashley management have reportedly threatened to withdraw their contract from Ardbride, whose boss, Ross, has offered increasing amounts of money for the strikers to call off their action. His last offer was their jobs back, with union membership, but with the same pay and conditions - the conditions and pay were the reason for the strike in the first place! All these offers *have been refused by the striking women, who will accept nothing less than their jobs back* and their demands met in full.

The picketing of Laura Ashley shops has taken place throughout Britain as well as internationally.

The dispute was as much about appalling conditions as it was about insulting



low wages. Ardbride Products, in Ardrossan, Scotland, make lampshades and stands, the main buyer being Laura Ashley. Last September the women voted for strike action, but 2 days afterwards they were all sacked.

Picketing was then started all over the country outside the Laura Ashley shops by members of the Direct Action Movement and with the help of other anarchists. A solidarity call to DAM's sister organisations in the International Workers' Association, resulted in the picketing of Laura Ashley shops in seven towns/cities in West Germany, five cities in France, as well as picketing in New York and in other major centres. The independent Dutch union, the OVB, has also protested directly to Laura Ashley, while members of the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland picketed a Laura Ashley shop in Dublin.

The 21 women need donations, now more than ever. Two of the strikers have already lost their homes after not being able to keep up payments.

Help organise pickets, and send news of them (and donations too) to: Anna Druggan, 28a Montgomerie Street, Ardrossan, KA22 8EQ, Scotland.

LATE NEWS: Members of Nottingham Anarchist Group, Notts Anarchist Federation and Notts DAM-IWA joined forces to hold the first picket in Nottingham on May 13. A letter was given in to the store manageress explaining the reasons for the action and leafletting began.

The action was featured on local radio that evening, including a short interview with one of the demonstrators recorded outside the shop. At the second picket on saturday May 16 some customers did agree to join the boycott of the shop. A couple went into the shop to explain to Laura Ashley that they wouldn't shop there again until the dispute is settled. The pickets are now continuing twice a week, much to the annoyance of the shop.

The Empire Strikes Back

At 9 p.m. on April 2nd this year IRA volunteer Lawrence Marly was shot at the door of his house by two Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) gunmen. The following day Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein president and MP for West Belfast, accused the Army of 'collusion' with the killers and revealed that Marly had received a number of death threats from the Army and RUC.

'No less than two weeks ago a British Army major told him that they would make sure Marly would not live much longer,' said Adams. 'If they didn't get him they could get others to do it for them.'

Apparently when Marly was interrogated at Castlereagh a senior RUC detective told him they would give his name and the names of two other local republicans to a Loyalist murder gang in the Ballysillan area. After these threats, Marly made security measures at his home, but these proved ineffective as the UVF seemed to have an 'intimate' knowledge of both his security procedure and layout of his house. Adams also pointed out that the Ardoyne area, where Marly lived, had been saturated by Army/RUC patrols. The only route in and out of the area not covered by the security forces was Ardoyne Avenue—the route used by the gunmen to escape, which he implied could only mean they had prior knowledge of the attack.

It took two days to bury Marly, after excessive RUC presence at his home and funeral, which was aimed at stopping the Belfast Brigade of the IRA firing a volley of shots over his coffin (even though they had already done that). As a result the IRA, under pressure from the local Catholic hierarchy, had to stop paramilitary displays at the graveside. This appears to have been the only part of the story which reached the media. Unsurprisingly, the speech given by Martin McGuinnness at Marly's graveside was not quoted. He placed responsibility for the murder at the door of 'a British death squad' because Marly 'was a danger to British interests in Ireland'.(1)

Previous reports have been made about alleged Security Forces/terrorist operations of this kind. A UDR man claimed that former MP Bernadette McAlisky was on their assassination list just after the attempted shooting of her and her husband on 16th January 1981—the Red Hand Commando was alleged to be responsible. This is the Loyalist paramilitary group believed to be used by the Security Forces for undercover counter-insurgency operations (2, 3).

Three men jailed for the murder of a republican, John Turnly, claimed to be members of the Ulster Defence Association and that the SAS had supplied them with everything they needed for the operation—weapons, uniforms, intelligence.(4) It has also been reported that the SAS have enlisted the help of the UDA and RUC to eliminate IRA suspects operating from the Republic (5).

References:(1) *Republican News* 'Crown forces collude with loyalist assasins' 9/4/87; (2) *New Statesman* 23/1/81; (3) *Guardian* 17/1/81; (4) *Guardian* 11/3/82; (5) *Lobster*—4.

THE PRISON ECONOMY

Continued from front page

In the UK the plan is to introduce privatisation firstly with new remand centres, then new non-remand prisons, then finally with older prisons. If the logic of the US system is followed to its conclusion then pay-as-you-rot will be incorporated too. And if we eventually get to the stage where contributions by clients become compulsory and where loans or other funds are unavailable, then perhaps the seizure of goods (or ill-gotten gains - a popular one for the Tories, and already being practised by the Courts) will be used as payment.

THE PRISON SOCIETY

Of course, whether we are imprisoned by the public sector or the private sector, there is no difference. In Spain, for example, there is a mixture of both, often working to the prisoners' advantage. But the point here is that paying for your own imprisonment is like being imprisoned or penalised twice over. Just as selling your labour for slave-labour pay is a crime with two beneficiaries: the employer and the state.

At the same time, as poverty increases, as the prison service becomes self-sufficient and even profitable sustaining itself as an industry (with a product?), so imprisonment itself will form an essential part of the production process and even the national economy. Even now the indications are, as stated in the last *Black Flag*, that the soon-to-be-introduced electronic tags (the hi-tech version of house arrest) could well include within its electronic signal the personal identifier of the National Insurance number. These same numbers are already being used to monitor the employment and social security, as well as credit, records of holders. This is a direct link between punishment and labour: step out of line and you will have your liberties curtailed.

So, in reality, we are not only seeing the dawning of a new economy - the Prison Economy - based on the institutionalisation of low pay, but also the age of the Prison Society - where imprisonment becomes more likely for the social dissident and where that imprisonment becomes an essential element in our personal bugetting considerations.

As previously stated, the new Five Year plan is to expand the prison system - to turn it into a growth industry - not to decrease it as the government would like us to believe. This will be a threefold expansion: by privatising the mainstream prisons, by turning army camps into detention centres, and by introducing house arrest via the electronic surveillance devices. This expansion scheme is also, in effect, a planning exercise: planning for a growth in crime and for the further criminalisation of political and social dissent. By introducing three-tier imprisonment, the indication is also that this three-tier system will act as an essential part of the social control process to achieve the maximum in effective obedience (the efficiency of capitalism?).

The Five Year Plan mirrors the absence of any long term planning by those who are resisting this tyranny. This weakness on our part will only be dealt with when we begin to organise on a long term basis, as a movement and with a programme of action.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ARGENTINA

WHERE MURDERERS WALK FREE

Far from being a defeat for the military the recent revolt by certain sectors of the Army - headed by Lieutenant-Coronel Aldo Rico and General Ernesto Guillermo Barreiro - can be seen as an almost complete victory for the mutineers.

Major concessions have been won from the Army's point of view, including the appointment of many right wing 'hard liners' to the top of the military hierarchy, plus an amnesty for all middle and low-ranking soldiers involved in the notorious 'dirty war' period of the military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983.

As a direct result of the attempted coup, for example, Hector Rios Erenu, head of the Army's General Staff, has been replaced by right-winger General Fausto Marcelo Gonzalez. Erenu has been under a lot of criticism in recent times from far-right elements within the armed forces who are furious over his lack of support for their proposed complete amnesty for all armed forces personnel implicated in the torture, kidnapping and 'disappearance' of some 30,000 people under the dictatorship. It is precisely this ultra-rightist wing that staged last month's rebellion.

Aldo Rico, now under arrest along with nine other mutineers, is a case in point. His 'commando' - which fought in the Falklands War - held nazi Otto Skorzeny up as their idol! Barreiro, on the other hand, has long held fascist and anti-semitic views. Both men are linked to the far-right of the Peronist movement. Barreiro is also suspected of commiting several murders during the 'dirty war' period, while Rico has been accused of cruelly mistreating subordinates in the past.

Another new right-wing addition is the appointment of Colonel Jorge Eugenio O'Higgins - now 13th in the Army's hierarchy - immediately following the revolt. He was one of several 'military advisers' who spent time in Honduras during the late seventies training Contras. According to recent revelations by a Honduran right-winger, the same Argentinian 'advisers' also trained members of Honduran death squads in the art of 'counter-insurgency', along with similar 'advisers' from Chile and the CIA. Between 1980-84 around 200 leftists fell victim to these squads.

President Alfonsin himself, far from being the saviour of 'democracy', should also take a lot of the blame for recent events. Since taking power in 1983 he has consistently backed down rather than confront the military over human rights abuses committed before, and in many cases after, he took office.

As a result of his complicity with the generals just 5% of armed forces personnel, thought to be involved in such abuses, have been brought to trial. In many cases they have then been acquitted and released. With his 'final point' law (disqualifying any more such trials from taking place after February 22nd 1987) and the new 'due obedience' law (passed as a result of the rebellion, it grants amnesty for all middle and low-ranking soldiers guilty of illegal acts committed during the 'dirty war'), Alfonsin and his cronies are clearly paving the way for a complete amnesty of all armed forces' criminals.

West Germany

The Battle Of Berlin



Did you hear about the riots in Kreuzberg (Berlin) on the First of May this year? We've seen nothing like it in Berlin for over five years. Anger, built up in a number of years, exploded in this one big eruption. Anger over corruption; over the evictions of squatters; youth unemployment; rent rises; bus fare increases; health insurance increases; reactionary new laws in schools and universities; the disgraceful treatment of claimants; the repression of working class immigrants and their children; the role of the police as tools of the ruling class as well as their role as an occupying force in what is supposed to be our 'own country' social control in each and every way; the official government census; new identity cards; video cameras on the streets; chemical catastrophe; nuclear power and radiation; arms exportation; diplomatic links with South Africa, Chile, Paraguay and Turkey, and last but not least, the enormous waste of money on the Berlin Festival commemorating the city's 750th anniversary. All that in a country where the rich are as rich as ever before and the poor sink deeper and deeper into social misery. Reasons enough to rebel!

But there were other reasons... Early in the morning of the First of May police broke into the 'Anti-Census Bureau' in Mehringhof and confiscated documents,. Meanwhile, claimants groups and other organisations around a reduction in rents campaign staged a street festival on Lusitzer Square in Kreuzberg (West Berlin). Around 4 p.m some autonomists overturned an empty cop van nearby. The police arrived and put the VW on its wheels. Around 6 p.m a small barricade was built by overturning another car and a few windows were smashed on Skalitzer Street. While this was happening, the festival in the square continued peacefully. Rock bands played, information was given out, food stalls set up. The cops didn't bother to clear the barricade althought more and more police vehicles were arriving on the scene.

At 8 p.m precisely the festival was about to come to a peaceful end when the cops invaded the square. They shot tear gas into the crowd and started beating people up. That was the opening salvo in one of the longest nights in Kreuzberg. Barricades now appeared everywhere. When night came you could see fires burning all over the area. Cars were set alight, supermarkets were looted and it was no longer just the radical left on the streets. Police and the fire brigade lost control. 'Ordinary' people looted alongside punks, Turkish mothers and children. Traffic lights, bus stations and an underground station were destroyed. A crazy drunken party lasted until the small hours, when the cops slowly gained control by which time Kreuzberg looked as if it had been in an air raid.

One supermarket was totally burned out as was a fire engine. Dozens of wrecked cars were lying on the smelted asphalt and it took a whole day to clear up the streets. About fifty or sixty were arrested but the number of injured remains unknown. The following evening a thousand police patrolled Kreuzberg but without serious incident. It doesn't look as if the riot will lead to a new movement of any sort but it certainly won't be the last time that emotions explode. Indeed, the next confrontation is set. On 12th June Mr Reagan honours Berlin with his presence for a second time.

Source: Ralf (Berlin)

Black Flags Fly In Frankfurt

A series of 'Libertarian Days' was held in Frankfurt (West Germany) 16th-20th April. For this first congress of all currents of the libertarian movement—anarchists, syndicalists, pacifists and autonomists—1500 participants met and discussed (under the motto 'From social movements to the social revolution') the present state and perspectives for the libertarian left in Germany.

The Congress was organised by the Frankfurt Libertarian Centre, run by the local group of the anarcho-syndicalist Freie-Arbeiter Union (IWA/AIT) and autonomists. The conference site was the university where for five days each morning a plenum took place, followed by different discussion groups. Themes ranged from an analysis of the situation of the libertarian movement and a critique of various social movements in past years, to groups on anarcho-syndicalism, non-violence, Palestine and Greece.

Most discussions showed that to change society in a libertarian direction an escape from the social ghetto most German libertarians are in today is necessary, as is a stronger emphasis on the problems of work and everyday life. It is not important that the 'Libertarian Days' did not end with perfect analyses and agreed strategies but that for the first time all currents of the German libertarian movement had come together and had a process of discussion and a self-critical look at their own situation.

The process will be continued with several regional meetings being prepared for the coming months.

Andreas Canter

(We found this article interesting for information but don't necessarily agree with its conclusions)

DENMARK

Police Smash May Day Demo

While Social Democrats, Communists and Socialists joined a common First of May parade in Copenhagen, Anarchists and squatters met at a central square for a separate demonstratiion arranged by the anarcho-syndicalist ASO.

The squatters movement, BZ, organised a pre-demo from a squatted house. The police weren't notified about this and they tried to prevent it going down Stroget (a shopping street in the centre of the city leading to where the main demo was to begin).

As a result, squatters went down another street and smashed the windows of a bank along the way. When they arrived at the square they clashed with police in riot gear lined up in combat formation. Squatters won round 1, but when the atmosphere calmed, police regrouped to 'restore order' and the square was secretly surrounded and the adjoining streets blocked off.

After the burning of two Shell Oil flags the police attacked the crowd with truncheons, being met with bricks and bottles. Though drinkers helped by throwing empty beer bottles, the police were superior in force. Even a mother with a baby found herself to be 'obstructing' the police. One person was hospitalised, 19 were arrested and 2 later charged with 'breaches of public order'.

The arrests were quite arbitrary. It goes without saying that the police were very brutal. One arrested person lying on the ground was kicked in the head (which was witnessed by journalists). What was left of the demonstration after many had fled in panic was refused permission to go on the route laid down by the police themselves in writing. But they couldn't prevent groups drifting to Faelleden, where an anarchist Festival was held, and two or three thousand people took part without harassment.

This is the Danish police state anno 1987. Freedom of assembly is ignored and arbitrary arrests take place. A few years ago the police were after the squatters because they were an obstacle to town planning as seen by the municipal council headed by social democratic mayor Egon Weidekamp. Now as the squatters have developed into an autonomous and militant group, targetting political objectives, the police have a theory that they are a dangerous cancer which they need to cut out. This is why they smashed the anarchist First of May demo.

Peter Bach



It takes 10 of them to fit a light bulb!

SPAINS SUMMER OF DISCONTENT

IN BRIEF-IN BRIEF

PREMEDIATED MURDER OF AN ANARCHIST

Madrid: In March of 1980, Jorge Caballero, a young affiliate of the CNT was attacked and stabbed to death by a group of fascist thugs as he was leaving a cinema. The leader of the group, Jose Juan Llobregat, has fled the country, but two others involved have finally been tried, seven years later. On the 29th of April this year the public prosecutor, to the amazement of the court and even of the press, gave them the severe sentence of *six months each*, roughly the sentence handed out in normal cases for stealing a car radio.



JORGE CABALLERO

USEFUL BOMB

Saragossa: *On the night before May Day, the mayor of Saragossa, Antonio Gonzalez Trivino, discovered a home made bomb decorated with an A sign in his flat. The note placed with the bomb said: 'Trivini, we're out to get you'. The news of the bomb brought a load of unwelcome publicity for this socialist politician, who until then had been pocketing quite a lot of corrupt money in relative obscurity. It turns out that an expensive work-created scheme involving the construction of several municipal workshops and warehouses, which Trevino had promised, and had already 'invested' a large sum of public money in, had never left the drawing board.*

HISTORY

Barceona: Fifty years on, the conventional press has finally got the facts straight about what happened in Barcelona in May of 1937, in which a group of Communists and Catalan government soldiers tried to seize control of the telephone exchange from the CNT, thus beginning the ten day civil war within the city between the CNT (and the POUM independent marxists) on the one hand, and the communists, Catalan government forces and the socialist UGT on the other. This year, 1987, several daily papers gave a full account of these historical events, in which it was pointed out that Camillo Berneri and his companion, Alfred Martinez of the Libertarian Youth, and Domingo Ascaso, among others, were murdered in cold blood by the communists and Catalan assault guards. It was also pointed out that the CNT were the main force resisting the fascists when Franco's rebellion began ('They were the most numerous organisation and had fought as nobody else had') and that they should never have been so tolerant as to give equal footing to minority organisations such as the socialist UGT when the Anti-fascist committees wer formed in 1936. In general, detailed articles in the normally conservative/liberal paper *Avui* and *Diari de Barcelona* also showed how the communists used the events of May '37 as a springboard for their takeover of the republican forces, thus finishing off the revolution for good. All in all it has been a long while since the CNT's recent history has been given so much publicity on home ground. All that remains is for the history of the post-war resistance, of the post-Franco resurgence, and of the emergence of the phoney CNT 'split' to be told...

REINOSA

In *Black Flag* 169, there was a photograph of a group of Spanish paramiliary police (*Guardia Civil*) cringing in fear under a rain of stones and bricks thrown by townspeople of the small industrial town of Reinosa (in Cantabria, northern Spain). This town, population 13,000, had already lost 1,200 jobs due to the 'reconversion' of the local steel plant, on which the town depends for its survival. Workers at the plant, threatened with further job losses, kidnapped the boss in protest. The Guardia Civil sent in the GAR (a kind of SAS) to release him and then tried to 'restore order' in the town; the entire population of which, viritually, had turned out to meet them. The Guardia in the photo surrendered to the townspeople, who gave their tricorner hats to the local kids to play with. After that, the Guardia Civil, bullshitting about the 'honour of the corps', launched a full-scale riot in the town, and with tanks, armoured cars, and thousands of guards carrying rubber-bullet guns. A documentary made by independent Catalan TV (not accountable to the Spnaish government) showed how shops and houses had been smashed up everywhere in the town. The villagers reacted by sabotaging the railway lines, blocking the Santander-Madrid express, and organising singing chains of people along all the main streets (favourite song: *'Que se vaya, que se vaya la Guardia Civil'*). The Guardia Civil reacted in their turn with further violent reprisals, setting up a military cordon round the town, using police specially bussed in from outside Cantabria. What Abel Paz has called the 'instinctive anarchism' of the vilagers has made Reinosa the centre of attention in Spain for some weeks now (*the fighting started at the beginning of* April). On TV, police chiefs tried to dismiss the events by talking about 'a sector' of the village only being involved. Around 11,000 villagers, or 85% of the total population—just about everyone except the under fives and the bedridden—were involved in the clashes. The police, apart from smashing up the town (over four hundred claims for damaged property reimbursements have been made) also used toxic gas against the villagers. At the time of writing (May 5th) Gonzalo Ruiz, worker at the local steel plant, ramains seriously ill in hospital, suffering from severe lesions to lungs and windpipe caused by smoke from gas cannisters used against him by police *three weeks* before. At the time of writing, news has just come in that he has died (May 6).



Gonzalo Ruiz

SQUATTERS

Madrid: On April 30 Madrid squatters took over an abondoned tax office in Argumosa street, (no.41), with plans to set up a self-managed cultural centre. They immediately set up an exhibition in the squat showing their plans for the future and invited neighbours in to view it. The buiding, although abandoned for seven years, is on the protected list, and cannot be demolished, so this time the coppers might have to leave them alone, not having the usual 'unsafe premises' excuse to get them out. There are about forty squatters in the building.

FIGHT OR STARVE

Cadiz: the workers of the Puerto Real shipyards have been fighing over the last two years to save their jobs from the 'reconvesrsion' schemes of the Spanish government.

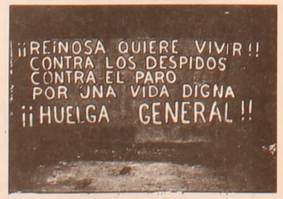
On the 28th, through to the 29th of April there was continuous fighting with the **Policia Nacional**, in which one worker was seriously wounded in the eye by a rubber bullet. The workers were trying at the time to block the main entry road to Cadiz, and resisted the coppers with steel bolts. The CNT/AIT has an important presence in the Puerto Real shipyards, and the workers there have accepted in the majority the CNT proposals to organise weekly autonomous assemblies and to reject the terms of the Administration which wants to lay off 2,000 of the 3,500 strong workforce. Eight CNT affiliates arrested by police in the recent fighting are coming up for trial soon. There's evidence that they've been singled out deliberately.



NO JOB - TOUGH LUCK

'Reconversion' is the Spanish name for the forced introduction of new technology which is taking place all over Western Europe. If this technology was in the hands of self-managed factories, of autononous communities, of non-hierarchical organisations, it could be used to reduce working hours by half, improve working conditions, introduce direct democracy into the towns and cities, and wipe out unemployment. As it is, it is being used to sting the workforce, and to create a sincerely nauseating yuppie class covering all fields, whose imbecilic social life and tedious love of gadgetry is the new carrot held out to the new generation of 'donkeys' who are just beginning to figure in the unemployment lists. Unemployment on a large scale is one thing that we are not taught we must accept as inevitable, and to help those who still have a job to accept it, the gulf between them and the unemployed has been widened considerably. The tone of all advertising, all TV conditioning, all the fashionable 'arts' etc. in recent years has been to suggest to those who've got work that they've never had it so good. They don't need politics, they don't need to worry. All they have to do is get down and party. On a loan if necessary. And the unemployed will have to lump it... In Spain, this process began a bit later than in the rest of Europe, but the Spanish response was immediate, and now, with Reinosa, Puerto Real, the students, the Leonese anthracite mines, etc. etc. etc. all becoming too actively anti-reconversion and anti-unemplomentto be ignored, it has become clear that in Spain not even a 'socialist' government is going to get people to swallow the notion of 'necessary unemployment'. What has also become clear in Spain is that the supposedly 'majority' unions—the communist CC.OO and socialist UGT—are marginalised from the conflict. The method chosen by local communities, by the students, and by dozens upon dozens of factories quite independantly from each other, has been assemblyism, that is to say the formation of popular assemblies with near total participation, federating by means of delegates without executive power, where some kind of federation or coordination has taken place. Meanwhile membership of the 'main' unions has shrunk to less than 10% of the workforce for the two of them together. Their representatives cannot cope with assemblyism, which often brings in a whole community, including housewives and unemployed and old folk, people who lie outside their 'jurisdiction'. Nor can they cope with movements which organise from the base: such movements cannot be 'represented'. They tried to dominate the student movement, negotiating and then 'calling off' the strikes, but the strikes continue albeit in smaller numbers, all but ignored by the press. The political parties which the two big unions are supposed to belong to have lost their credibility, the socialists by becoming almost openly right-wing, and the Spanish Communist party by all but disappearing. In short, the big unions have lost the initiative to the majority—the non-unionised majority—of Spanish workers, Spanish students, and unemployed. And this majority, as has been said, has chosen assemblyism as its preferred method of orgaisation. Assemblyism is nothing less than the form of organisation which the anarcho-syndicalists of the CNT have been proposing for years. In some areas—such as Puerto Real—where the CNT has a considerable presence, people have made the connection. For their part, the CNT need to look beyond their purely union activity to the enormous potential support to be found in those communities throughout Spain. If large enough numbers of people make the connection between what they are already doing of their own free will and what the CNT have been doing since the day the organisation was formed, we will see—without a doubt—a new social base emerging for anarchism in Spain.

MT, Barcelona, May 1987



IN THE TRADITION

In Barcelona the CNT/AIT organised a meeting and march, to which about 3,000 turned up (lower figures than usual, due to the fact that May Day this year was a long weekend). Also, for the first time in Catalonia for several years, other CNT meetings were organised in Girona and Tarragona, including debates in the universities of those cities about anarchism, the events of May '37 (in which the Communists tried to seize control of Barcelona from the CNT) and unemployment. These debates were extremely successful ending with a sell-out of books on anarchism, which many of the students evidently saw as some kind of revelation, something they hadn't been told about. In Barcelona, speakers at the meeting denounced the police frame-up mentioned elsewhere.

Meanwhile in Madrid, the phoney CNT's leader Jose March marched shoulder to shoulder with Antonio Camacho, leader of the Communist CC.OO union, thus getting national TV coverage for the phoney CNT, whose participation in the Communist demo was mentioned in every TV news broadcast and in every daily paper the day after. The press didn't mention that Jose March ('one of the most important figures in the CNT' according to one announcer) was the head of an organisation comprising only 2,000 affiliates in the whole of Spain, and which had gained less than 1% of the votes in the recent union elections. The real CNT has around 50,000 affiliates and boycotts the union elections, of course. *They* were not mentioned on TV, and were given minimal coverage in the press. No attempt was made to explain the difference between the 'CNT' (e.g. the 'split') and the CNT/AIT, leaving the average reader—supposing s/he noticed the discrepancy—in a state of complete confusion.



May Day 1987. Photo: Tinta Negra (Salud!)

THE CNT CONNECTION

Madrid and Barcelona: On April 25 of this year, the Spanish Ministry of the Interior announced that eight people, 'presumed connected' with the German RAF, the Italian Red Brigades and the French Action Directe, had been detained under the anti-terrorist laws, five were being held in Madrid and three in Barcelona. This efficient police action got excellent media coverage both within Spain and abroad. The faces of the detainees were broadcast around the country. Barrineuvo, the Interior Minister, gave one of his this-is-just-the-beginning-there's-more-to—come press conferences. And it was revealed that three people arrested in Barcelona were 'anarchists and Red Brigade members' and that the CNT/AIT was implicated. According to the Ministry, the CNT was to form a possible alliance with the 'euroterrorists', or so the Ministry hinted.

As for the five people held in Madrid, three were released within days due to (complete) lack of evidence, and the release of the others is expected soon. But in Barcelona, where there is this supposed 'CNT-euroterrorist connection' the authorities were trying to make the charges stick, even if it means having to change them from time to time. Their main suspect is Fabrizio Bartet, who was arrested with Clara Placenti (the couple have baby twins, born in 1985, now being looked after by friends). Fabrizio, according the police, is wanted on illegal possession of arms charge (though no arms of any description have been found) and is a 'known member' of the Red Brigades. Fabrizio was in fact taken to court three times in Italy on charges of belonging to the Red Brigades and an 'armed group' respectively. He was acquitted, completely, each time. He is not on the Interpol search and arrest list. No arms have ever been found at any of the addresses he has lived at. In 1985 he even went back to Italy to do his military service, returning afterwards to Barcelona. The third person arrested is Maria Felipe Romero, a CNT/AIT affiliate and friend of Clara and Fabrizio. He is a regular contributor to the Catalan CNT paper *Solidaridad Obrera*, and has for years been living and working with various marginalised artists, musicians and immigrant communities in Barcelona, writing in the 'Soli', among other things, about the setting up of Barcelona's first African centre. He is the 'link-man' of the police's imagination, the anarchist go-between for the CNT and the Red Brigades. Originally charged with 'complicity in terrorist acts', he is now facing a solitary charge of resisting arrest ...

The CNT sent out a detailed press release to set the record straight, which was all but ignored in the mass media. The phoney CNT 'split' sent out *their* press release, disowning any connection with those arrested, and accepting the police interpretion of events (this press release got full coverage). In Barcelona the Libertarian Assembly organised meetings and a poster campaign in protest at the arrests. The CNT is now organising a nationwide response to the frame-up. Spanish embassies abroad would also, no doubt, like to hear the facts.

MAD THUGS IN SUN

Anyone thinking of going on a package holiday to Majorca this year should be warned that they might be travelling with an armed right wing lunatic. The independant local paper *Diario de Mallorca* has discovered recently that woods near the popular tourist beaches of Cala Millor are being used by far right groups based in Spain for bayonet training and shooting practice with live ammunition. The numerous secluded bays in the area provide a perfect dropping off point for explosives. Local Guardia Civil – despite complaints from locals regarding 'strange people' in the area – have denied that anything funny is going on. Not surprising. The *Diario de Mallorca* has been investigating the case for some months, and has found out that these groups are connected with well-funded fascist organisations in West Germany and France, who channel in money and small arms, along with training instructors and would-be 'students', by means of the package holiday runs organised by the main



tour operators. At the peak of the holiday season, fascists, fascist money and fascist armament arrive daily at the island.

IN BRIEF-IN BRIEF

★ Recently a 'Manifesto for the Recuperation of Libertarian Thought' appeared in Spain's best-selling daily, *El Pais*. This full-page garbage for a type of libertarian capitalism bore the signatures of a few Communist Party members, newspaper columnists, Catalan politicians, and the odd historian. Behind the Manifesto lies an organisation called the 'Salvador Segui Foundation For Libertarian Studies', opened recently in Madrid by Jose March, the General Secretary of the phony CNT 'split', whose ideas the manifesto apparently echoes. . .

★ For the first time in their history, the women workers of the Bic-Laforet company in Tarragona (Catalonia) have gone on strike to protest about sexual discrimination. Tired of earning between ten and twenty thousand pesatas (fifty to a hundred quid) less a month than men who are doing exactly the same work, and tired too of working under supervisors who exercised blatant discrimination according to how attractive they considered the workers in their charge, the women have gone on strike to put an end to such discrimination. Surprisingly for some, the men in the factory have shown support, with the result that 90% of the total workforce took part in the strike. The workers concerned have organised themselves independently of the unions.

★ The *Festa de la A* was an open 'non-aligned' anarchist festival organised in Barcelona last November. The organisers have just published a list of conclusions (five months later!) based around the feedback received from the people who went along to the festival. On the positive side they point to the large numbers of people who went along (albeit in part attracted by the free gigs), and to the success of the 'open debate' idea. On the negative side, they point to a need for more serious discussion, better organisation next time round, and the need to give more obvious support to the magazine *La Lletra A*, which was largely responsible for organising the festival. (I went along to this: there were certainly a lot of people there, and plenty of different things to see and hear, from art shows, fanzine shows, and slide shows, to open debates and gigs. The open debates seemed to be the only really constructive events though – simply rooms with a lot of chairs which people went to in order to make contact, albeit through arguing their heads off, with other people. There were no 'speakers' and no 'chair-people'. Other good events were a talk from a group of striking dock-workers and from the Bruguera printworkers, then trying to collectivise their company).

★ Not anarchy, *but* . . . local politicians have been complaining about the small town of Isona, near Lleida (Catalonia), because since 1979 none of them have been voted for in the council elections. The mayor explains: 'They're welcome to stand as candidates if they went to, but they can never find anybody who will vote for them. The villagers prefer the system they've been using since 1979'. This system is probably closest that can be got to 'direct democracy' while still retaining the offices of mayor and council. In Isona there are no political parties and no electoral lists. Each villager votes for those among the other villagers he/she thinks would be best suited to the various jobs on the council. The names which get the most votes on the final list get the jobs. The day before the elections, the whole village meets to confirm that they wish to continue with this system. The following day, a list of fifteen names – corresponding to the fifteen jobs available on the council – is collected from each villager, and the final results broadcast. Any villager over 18 is eligible to be voted for. Participation is voluntary and 100 per cent. The total voting population is Isona is 1,400. One of the difficulties the political parties have is that they can never find anyone within the village who is prepared to 'represent' them. The villagers feel that, in Isona, such politicians are 'not necessary'.

★ The original *Coordinadora de Mensajeros* – the bike couriers' organisation set up in Barcelona two years ago, has dissolved, mostly into thin air, but to some extent to the communists (CC.OO) and to the CNT 'split'. As the conditions of the couriers are as bad as ever, some of them have recently reorganised into the *Agrupacion de Mensajeros*, affiliated to the CNT-AIT. Among their grievances are a minimum daily workload of 25 deliveries, the sack if their bikes break down for longer than three days, having to pay all their own expenses (petrol; space parts etc), and the danger of serious accidents which the nature of their work (underpaid, hurried) obviously increases.

★ The CNT-AIT have organised a boycott of the BOPAN bread and cake company (a sort of Catalan Lyons), due to the unfair dismissal of one of their affiliates, and also in protest at an underpaid overlong working week, poor hygiene conditions, intimidation on the part of management, and other unfair dismissals of workers.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
CNT
AIT

★ And to finish, a completely unfounded rumour: that the socialist mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, who is currently rejoicing over the 1992 Olympic candidature, has a brother who is one of the main suppliers of heroin into the Catalan capital, already famous in Spain for its smack consumption and the misery it causes. Just a rumour..

MT Barcelona

MAGGIES MI5 TENDENCY

Individuals and organisations - named at the time as direct beneficiaries of the MI5-led coup campaign in the early 1970's - are ready to begin a new offensive to keep Thatcherism as the dominant ideology of the emerging junta.

As will be shown the coup, far from being a failure, was as real as any military one. Its inheritors are now in power and its backers remain poised in the wings to provide ideological as well as physical support.

The individual beneficiaries - selected by MI5 in a secret document - we name later in this article; the organisations that contributed in the conspiracy will be familiar to our readers, but their precise role will be explained in more detail.

Recently we have termed Thatcher's covert lobbyists as the 'unofficial enemy within'. But, in the light of new information it is perhaps more accurate to dub them 'Maggie's MI5-Tendency'. The reason for this will be made clear.



BRITISH ARMY TAKES OVER HEATHROW AIRPORT, JANUARY 1974

BACKGROUND TO THE COUP

There was not an attempted coup in the UK, as the newspapers allege, but a successful one. It was not a military coup, although the military were involved in the planning and were prepared to back it, if necessary, with force. At the time certain politicians were well aware of what was happening, although the public only had suspicions (encouraged by, for example, the 'training' exercise held by the Army and the SAS at Heathrow airport in 1973 and 1974).

The coup took place not over a matter of days, or even weeks, but over a period of years and is still, it can be argued, being 'finalised' even today. It was essentially MI5 led, but involved the establishment as a whole. If any date can be fixed at to when the initial idea was formulated, this would be around 1961 onwards and *developed as a reaction to the Wilson government*, but went on widen its brief and became a reaction, too, to the Heath government, to both government's handling of industrial relations (especially the Miners disputes), to the crisis in Northern Ireland and the crisis of capitalism in the face of growing world recession. The effect of the Angry Brigade campaign, as an aspect of the organised resistance, would also have taken its toll.

In 1961 the Labour Party shadow minister George Brown approached MI5 in order to establish closer relations between the intelligence service and the Labour hierarchy. He asked MI5 to scrutinise left-wing MP's within the Labour Party as well as left-wingers within the trade union movement. This was already, of course, part of their ongoing brief; they had already, as well, been asked by the CIA, via their deputy director of counter-intelligence, James Angleton, to weed out Communists within the British labour movement and the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Wilson, on the one hand, felt that matters went too far and decided, as Prime Minister, MP's would be given immunity. On the other hand he was more than willing to exploit the fruits of MI5 investigations into the trade union movement. In 1966, for example, he made a precedent when he revealed in parliament the results of an MI5 investigation proving that certain trade union leaders within the National Union of Seamen (who were engaged in a major strike at the time) were Communist Party agitators. The strike subsided, but for the first time MI5 (which officially did not exist) was named by a prime minister as a source of anti-labour activities. Wilson was playing a precarious game, which eventually worked against him. And with the devaluation of sterling as perhaps the last straw, MI5 decided that the Labour hierarchies' close relationship to the Soviet Union (it was a time of growing detente) would be a subject for investigation.

MOLES ON THE LEFT

Within the Labour Party there was a group of prominent people whose loyalties were more closely alligned to the MI5 Tendency than to the policies of their own party. They (mostly Fabians) were members of a group now known as Encounter - a forum for those on the right within the European social democratic movements. It basically functioned as a bulwark against emerging Euro-communism and as an unofficial lobby for NATO interests. It also acted as a source for the setting up of the pro-NATO *Bilderburg Group (more on this later).*

Several members of the British Labour Party have been identified as Encounter members. Of the more well known they include George Brown, Anthony Crosland (who was, at the time, the Labour Party's chief ideologue), Reg Prentice (later to be identified with the Labour Right), Douglas Jay, Roy Jenkins (a founder of the Social Democrat Party), Patrick Gordon-Walker, William Rodgers (another SDP founder) and Denis Healey (a founder of the Bilderburg Group, and a stauch defender of NATO as Labour's Foreign Secretary). Many of those mentioned were also involved at the time as members of the Campaign group that managed to switch official Labour Party policy away from withdrawing from NATO.

During the first Wilson administration Callaghan, as Home Secretary, was responsible for all dealings with the Intelligence Services, although it is more widely recognised that their man inside the Labour Party was Lord Wigg (there were many others, Tom Driberg being the most notable).

Returning to the Encounter group, the interesting thing here is how it was set up and who sponsored it. The driving force behind its launch was an organisation called the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which itself was funded by several CIA front organisations. The CIA's own middle man in the Congress for Cultural Freedom was Carl Meyer, who later became CIA station chief in London during the main destabilisation period, 1973-76. The Congress for Cuitural Freedom was also responsible for setting up a number of other organisations, among them the 'news agency' Forum World Features, which later formed part of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC). Forum World Features (and later the ISC) can therefore be regarded as a sort of sister organisation of Encounter.

THE COUP

Three seperate occasions, not one, have been identified as to when the coup was planned. These planning meetings involved representatives from the Tory hierarchy, the Media, the Civil Service, the Royal Family, and the Military establishment as well as the Intelligence Services.

The first recorded instance took place on May 8th 1968 at the invitation of Lord Mountbatten. Besides Mountbatten, others present included Lord Zuckermann (a Ministry of Defence advisor), Cecil King (chairman of the Mirror Group of newspapers) and Hugh Cudlipp (King's successor). It was at that meeting that King, according to Cudlipp, invited Mountbatten to serve as Head of a provisional government. Mountbatten, indeed, would have proved eminently suitable: he was not only related to the Royal Family (as Prince Charles' uncle) but at the time he was also Chief of Defence Staff and commanded the loyalty of the British Armed Forces. As for King, one piece of information about him that is less widely known is that at the time he was in charge of the Encounter group's finances; in that sense he could be described as the unofficial banker of the Labour right.

The second coup meeting took place in 1973. According to Peter Wright (former MI5 officer, now turned mole) he was called to a meeting with Sir Peter Goldsmith (the international financier and media owner) and Airey Neave (ex-Wartime intelligence officer and then prominent Tory Party organiser). Also present was George Kennedy Young. Young was a deputy head of MI6, a prominent member of the right-wing Monday Club, and implicated - through his contacts in a private army (which he helped to set up - see below) and the Society for Individual Freedom - in the BOSS/MI6 conspiracy against Peter Hain (the Young Liberals leader) and later Jeremy Thorpe, the leader of the Liberal Party. Young, in his earlier days as an MI6 operations chief, was also responsible for putting together the assassination plan against President Nasser - which has since been referred to in the Wright memoirs.

The third occasion when the coup was discussed was in 1974. On that occasion the meeting took place at UK Land Forces HQ at Wilton. In command of UKLF at the time was Major-General Sir Frank Kitson, expert on counter insurgency warfare and recently arrived from his tour of Northern Ireland. According to Field-Marshall Lord Carver on that particular occasion (was he present?) the idea of a military takeover was discussed at length.

There may well have been several other occasions when the coup was discussed. It is known, for example, that Sir Robert Armstrong (now Thatcher's Cabinet Secretary) is known, on his own admission, to have been involved in such discussions. Armstrong is, of course, the man Thatcher sent as her representative to Australia to prevent the publication of the Wright memoirs which inevitably will implicate Armstrong personally.

Recently Thatcher dismissed the call for a public enquiry into the coup on the grounds that she had received assurances from the present Director-General of Security that the allegations did not hold up to scrutiny. Would Thatcher, we ask, accept the assurance of a former MI5 chief on the matter instead - here we have in mind Sir Martin Furnival Jones, the head of MI5 during the first Wilson government, who claims that details of the coup allegations (the 1968 occasion only) were given to Callaghan and a 'major-general' was implicated. He also claims that this information was kept from Wilson.

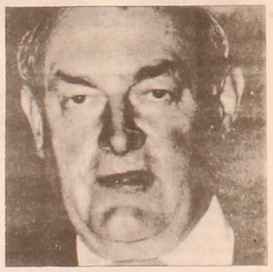
Further information about the '68 occasion can also be found in the 'Pencourt File', by journalists Penrose and Courtier. They received a statement from Marcia Williams (later Lady Falkender) - who was also the subject of MI5 investigation - that the prime mover of the coup plot was not King but Mountbatten, that he had support from elements in the Army and the City, and that he even had a wallmap outlining how the takeover would happen.

As it was none of these plots led to any recognisable coup. Instead a different strategy was pursued. This strategy involved a series of 'psychological operations' and smear campaigns as part of a wider destabilisation conspiracy, the long-term objective was to prepare the way for a political leadership more attuned with MI5 and Establishment interests.

PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS

The coup plots were, in effect, only the tip of the iceberg. The real coup was taking place behind the scenes and involved a number of individuals and organisations in an extensive dirty tricks campaign. Part of this campaign is now known to have been termed Clockwork Orange 2.

One aspect of Clockwork Orange 2 was the setting up of, or even the invention of, private armies to either assist in a takeover - if this option was resorted to - or, as it turned out in retrospect, to provide a psychological threat. Colin Wallace, the former Army Intelligence officer who was central to the Clockwork Orange 2 operation, points out that these armies also received official financial support (from the Counter Subversion Fund, then under the control of the state-run Information Research Department) as well as having access to Ministry



COLONEL DAVID STERLING (SAS, GB75)

of Defence and Information Research Department resources.

One such private army to emerge was GB75. This was set up (with GK Young as an advisor) by David Sterling, the founder, in 1941, of the SAS. Sterling later claimed that it was set up only after he had had extensive discussions with members of the then Conservative government, certain major industrialists and senior members of the Armed Forces. The then head of the Armed Forces was Field-Marshall Lord Carver, a close friend of Sterling. GB75 was organised prior to the '75 dection and then 'stood down' afterwards.

The other major private army of the day was Unison, later to be known as Civil Assistance. The idea of Unison/Civil Assistance was proposed jointly by Field Marshall Lord Carver and GK Young. It's main organiser was General (retired) Sir Walter Walker. Walker (former NATO Commander in Chief) recently claimed he had support for the project from Mountbatten. He also stated he received direct practical support from Field Marshall Lord Auchinleck, the late Duke of Westminster, the late Ross McWhirter (a founder of the National Association For Freedom), Lord Cayzer and Sir John Slessor.

Lord Cayzer is a major contributor of funds to the Tory Party as well as the Economic League. He also runs an MI6 front company, Airwork Ltd. Sir John Slessor was prominent in a secretive organisation known as the Resistance and Psychological Operations Committee, which uses the Reserve Forces Association as cover. According to Stuart Christie the Reserve Forces Association has been earmarked by NATO as a coordinating group for all reservists in any military or paramilitary response to insurgency or anti-NATO activities. Christie also states that the RFA is the British section of the Rosa dei Veinte organisation, whose member sections have been deployed in coup operations in Italy, Greece and elsewhere.

PROPAGANDA/SMEARS

The other side of the destabilisation campaign was propaganda activity, involving smears, disinformation and false press reports as well the production of forged documents. For this campaign a whole range of loyalist organisations was used as conduits. The old stalwarts were there - Aims of Industry, the Economic League, Industrial Research Information Services, and Common Cause (all concerned with monitoring the labour movement on behalf of MI5).

The propaganda published or distributed by these, and other organisations, resulted from a cross-feed of support from individuals that helped form these organisations into a kind of network that cooperated to get the maximum effect. One Common Cause pamphlet on counter-insurgency included a contribution by Air Vice-Marshall Stuart Menual, a former director of the Royal United Services Association (a forum for senior officers of all the Armed Forces) and later a member of the Institute for the Study of Conflict (which once shared offices with RUSI). During the destabilisation period RUSI was active in sponsoring and organising conferences on counter-insurgency (it was chaired by Monday Clubber, John Biggs-Davison - a member of the MI5 Tendency - and had several speakers from the ISC, etc.)

Another purveyor of propaganda was Tory MP Geoffrey Stewart-Smith (see last Black Flag), who was the UK representative of the World Anti-Communist League. His own organisation was the Foreign Affairs Circle, which had as its publishing outlet the Foreign Affairs Publishing Company (FAPC). FAPC distributed many publications that have since been identified as being part of the destabilisation campaign. One of these was published on behalf of Common Cause by Tom Stacey, a Monday Club member and later the Secretary of the pro-junta British-Chilean Council. The pamphlet, entitled 'We Will Bury You', was edited by Brian Crozier of the ISC and included articles from an editor of Common Cause, a publicity director of the Economic League, a Council member of the ISC, and a former officer of MI6.

The National Association For Freedom (NAFF, later the Freedom Association) played an active role in the destabilisation campaign. NAFF, for example, acted as a channel for the publication of allegations put out by the Czech defector Joseph Frolik against Labour MP and minister, John Stonehouse. (Frolik also passed on allegations against trade union leaders to Chapman Pincher, the official MI5 leaker, who then promptly passed them on to Aims of Industry. Another Czech defector, Frantsek August, passed on allegations that were eventually publicised by the Sherwood Press, owned by ISC founder Brian Crozier. Pincher was also the recipient and purveyor of forged documents against Labour minister Ted Short; these documents have since been shown to have their source within MI5.)

The NAFF became a focus in itself for many people involved in all the organisations of the far-right. For example, prominent members included Crozier (ISC,etc), Stephen Hastings MP (ex-MI6), Gerald Templar (Civil Assistance), Derek Jackson (MI6), Robert Moss (MI6), Michael Ivens (Aims of Industry), Jill Knight MP, Winston Churchill MP, Nicholas Ridley MP Rhodes Boyson MP and David Mitchell MP (the significance of the MP's mentioned will become clearer later in this article).

Other organisations that played a major role in the production as well as the distribution of propaganda during the destabilisation campaign included Forum World Features and the Information Research Department.

From 1970 to 1975 Forum World Features (FWF) and the ISC ran parallel with overlapping staff. ISC (an MI6/CIA front) ran an intensive propaganda campaign at the time, organising talks at military and police establishments. The IRD, on the other hand, is thought to have been one of the originators of much of the smear stories purveyed by the independent outlets. Later, when the IRD was closed down by the Labour government in 1977, many IRD officers moved over to the ISC (which is their natural home since many ISC members originally came from the old IRD in the first place).

Nor should we ignore, too, the role played by outlets such as 'Private Eye' in pumping out official smears and unofficial ones. At the time of the destabilisation campaign, for example, it regularly included a column by Auberon Waugh (an MI5 agent) on the anti-Wilson smears.

Much of these smears and propaganda generally provided psychological weight to the attacks being made against the Labour and Liberal parties as well as the Heath government. Altogether they assisted in a strategy to change the way the country was being governed and helped in the lurch towards the right. Callaghan's government acted as a sort of interim government until the real right wing could assume power. During his period of office he introduced policies (eg massive cuts in the public services, the setting up of training schemes for the unemployed, etc) and practices (eg fierce opposition to rank and file industrial action as in the 'winter of discontent') that Thatcher was to develop and perfect when her time came. With the eventual election of Thatcher it was then that the inheritors of the coup and the destabilisation period came into their own.

MI5's JUNTA

MI5's Clockwork Orange dirty tricks campaign compiled a list of top Tories it saw as being totally trustworthy and who MI5 could call upon for support if there was indeed an overthrow of government. These Tories were, in effect, to be the new government. As it turns out all of them (the list was drawn up in 1974) gained power of one sort or another and, together with others who came by a slightly different route, now represent the political tendency that is currently in power.

The original Clockwork Orange list drawn up by MI5 included the following names:

John Biffen (gained ministry and is a close adviser of Thatcher)

William Whitelaw (now Lord Whitelaw, gained ministry, was Thatcher's election organiser and now leads the Tories in the House of Lords)

Dr Rhodes Boyson (gained two junior ministries)

Francis Pym (gained ministry)

Enoch Powell (infiltrated the Ulster Unionists)

Julian Amery (on many important House of Commons Committees and is particularly strong in lobbies for developing nuclear weaponry and closer relations with South Africa)

Winston Churchill (front bench spokesman and represents, together with fellowMP Gerald Howarth - of the anti-Peter Hain campaign - the rising moral majority.

Others on the list included MP's Jill Knight and Patrick Wall. Wall is President, and Knight is Secretary of the present UK chapter of the World Anti-Communist League. (The chair of the UK chapter, incidentally, is Peter Dally, who has close connections to the Tory Party as well as to MI6.Other up and coming Tories connected with WACL include Piers Merchant MP - who spoke at the 1986 WACL Annual Conference - and MP's Stefan Terlezki and Henry Billingham.) Significantly, Wall now heads an exclusive and expanding group far right Tories known as the '92 Group. This group includes Winston Churchill, Jill Knight, John Biggs-Davison, Sir Marcus Fox, John Carlisle, etc.

Also worth mentioning is that some of Thatcher's closest advisers are all members of organisations that are implicated in the destabilisation campaign. People like Robert Moss (Thatcher's speech writer, a founder member of the ISC and a Council member of the Freedom Association), Robert Conquest (another Thatcher speechwriter and a former IRD officer), and Leonard Schapiro (close advisor to Thatcher on foreign policy, an ISC founder and thought to be working for MI6).

A couple of names that were missing from the original Clockwork Orange document were Norman Tebbit (now Chair of the Tory Party) and Sir Robert Armstrong. Tebbit was simply not within the mainstream political arena when the document was drawn up; however Armstrong (who is also an advisor to Thatcher on security matters) was, by his own admission, implicated in the coup plot.

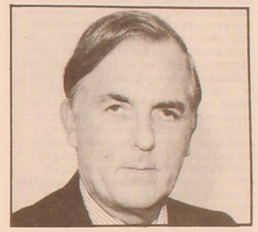
Both Airey Neave and Lord Mountbatten were, of course, assassinated.

As to the various organisation that were implicated they are all very much active today either under their original names or under new names.

For example the Foreign Affairs Circle was renamed the Foreign Affairs Research Institute, whose members later joined the ISC and the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (see last Black Flag) which provides briefings to the British section of the Western European Union.

Another ISC offshoot is the Institute for the Study of Terrorism (IST), which advises the government on counter-terrorism policy. The Secretary of the IST is Jillian Becker, the disinformation specialist. It's Chair is Lord Chalfont, the former Labour minister. Chalfont spoke recently at a Freedom Association conference on Education; he was also obliquely referred to in *The Guardian* (but not by name) as the former minister, now Lord, with CIA connections.

As for GB75, when it 'stood down' it promptly reformed and renamed itself as TRUEMID. This organisation now claims to support and fund 'moderates' (ie right-wingers) in the trade union movement. Recently TRUEMID funded the election



RAY WHITNEY

campaign of Bill Jordan, who now heads the Amalgamated Engineers Union.

The SAS connection with private armies is being continued through the efforts of the mercenary/private army KMS Ltd. They were referred to in the recent Contragate hearings (when its head, David Walker, was named) as having been operational in sabotage work in Managua against the Nicaraguans. KMS also operates under the name Saladin Security (last known address 141 Sloane Street, London W1).

Encounter is still going, with Melvin Lasky as its papers' editor (Lasky is on the Council of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies). Some of the old Encounter group set up the SDP, others preferred to stay inside the Labour Party to change things from within. Healey was one of the latter. As a founder member of the Bilderberg Group, which includes as members many prominent Atlanticists and personages such as Prince Philip and (the late) Lord Mountbatten, Denis Healey can certainly be counted as a member of the MI5 Tendency.

Other organisations not mentioned in this article, but which are very much in the same camp as those that are, include the Institute for Economic Affairs, the Adam Smith Institute (and Club) and the Centre for Policy Studies - all representing the 'libertarian' wing of capitalism and having a direct influence on current government policy.

There is also a new successor to the Coalition for Peace Through Security, which was involved in smear campaigns (organised by former IRD head, Ray Whitney) in 1983 against CND. The new organisation is called Peace Through NATO (PTN), whose President is Lord Home, the former Tory prime minister.

THE NEW ORDER

Collectively the organisations and individuals named above were/are all part of a dirty tricks campaign. That campaign is still continuing. The only difference is that the political tendency it represents is now in power and so the fight is a rearguard one.

It is also clear that today more importance is given to the role of think tanks in determining future political strategy of the government. These think tanks are virtually the government behind the government.

Also, in the sense that the Tories who MI5 wanted to head the new regime are actually in power now, and that the political tendency

Continued on page 8

NATO Veto On Labour

General Rodgers, Supreme Allied Commander NATO, has been arguing for the responsibility for European defence interests to be given to a central NATO body to be based at Supreme Allied HQ (at present in Belgium, but with a Reserve HQ at Northwood, north of London). This body would then become the supreme policy making organisation as well as the operational HQ.

If Rodgers' plan gets approval it could mean that should a political party come into power in a member state with a mandate that is against NATO policy then that mandate under the Rodgers' plan, would be subject to NATO veto.

In the unlikely event of the Labour Party getting into power in the UK at the Election the Labour Party, in power, could 'justify' its refusal, say, to abolish nuclear weapons by simply deferring to the NATO veto, while NATO would argue a case for collective European security interests.

At the same time it is worth noting that the Labour Party's main spokesperson on Defence matters, Denis Healey, is staunchly pro-NATO. As a founder member of the Atlanticist lobby, the Bilderberg Group, and as a covert member of the CIA-funded Encounter group (which has a history of subverting Labour Party anti-NATO policy) then it will not be at all surprising when Labour, in power, goes back on its (deliberately misleading) Manifesto policies.

N.B. More Cruise missiles are on the way. Basically the Atlantic ocean is to become one huge Cruise missile launch pad. The sea-launched variety - or SLBM's - are to replace or add to (depending on which way the current East-West talks go) the land-launched variety. There is also a plan to bring in Air-Launched ballistic missiles, to be borne by B52 bombers (the main B52 base in Britain is at Marham).

TOM INGLEWOOD.



Lord Carrington, General Secretary of NATO